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Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PARM, CCD

SUBJ: COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CD) US/UK
CONSULTATIONS ON MEMBERSHIP

1. SUMMARY. FCO ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT CHIEF
MALLABY CALLED ON ACDA ASSISTANT DIRECTOR DAVIES
SEPTEMBER 7 TO DISCUSS CD MEMBERSHIP, PARTICULARLY
PROBLEM OFASSURING THAT A NATO COUNTRY IS AMONG THE
FIVE TO EIGHT STATES SELECTED AS ADDITIONAL MEMBERS.
MALLABY AND DAVIES DISCUSSED HOW ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON A
SINGLE NATO CANDIDATE MIGHT BE BROUGHT ABOUT. MALLABY
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ALSO RAISED ISSUE OF LIKELY SOVIET INSISTENCE ON CUBAN
MEMBERSHIP IN RETURN FOR ACCEPTANCE OF A NATO COUN-
TRY. END SUMMARY.

2. MALLABY SAID UK SAW CONSENSUS BEGINNING TO EMERGE
AROUND SIX OR SEVEN COUNTRIES IN SELECTION OF ADDITIONAL
CD MEMBERS: AUSTRALIA, VENEZUELA, ALGERIA, A BLACK

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AFRICAN (PERHAPS KENYA), SRI LANKA AND/OR INDONESIA,AND CUBA -- RECOGNIZING, OF COURSE, US RESERVATIONS ABOUT CUBA. IN ADDITION, FINLAND HAD BEEN PROPOSED BY SOVIET UNION AND SEEMED TO ENJOY FAIR DEGREE OF SUPPORT ELSE-WHERE. MALLABY SAID THE UK FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO ASSURE THAT ONE OF THE EIGHT POSSIBLE PLACES WENT TO A NATO COUNTRY BUT FEARED THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED NATO CANDIDATE IN THE FIELD, THIS MIGHT NOT HAPPEN. TO PREVENT NATO FROM BEING "SQUEEZED OUT", UK BELIEVED ACTION MUST BE TAKEN QUICKLY TO GET AGREE-MENT WITHIN NATO ON A SINGLE CANDIDATE OR, ALTERNA-TIVELY, TO GET THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE NOW THAT THERE SHOULD BE A NATO PLACE. THE LATTER, MALLABY SAID, WOULD HAVE TO BE ARRANGED BY THE US AND WOULD PRESUMA-BLY REQUIRE US ACCEPTANCE OF CUBA.

3. DAVIES SAID US CONSIDERED INCLUSION OF A NATO COUNTRY TO BE SINE QUA NON FOR AGREEMENT ON A LIST OF ADDITIONAL CD MEMBERS. HE SAID THE US WAS STILL AWAITING OFFICIAL SOVIET RESPONSE TO ITS PROPOSED LIST OF CANDIDATES (REFTEL) BUT WAS AWARE THAT SOVIET PRICE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF A NATO COUNTRY MIGHT VERY WELL BE US AGREEMENT ON CUBA. HE SAID CUBA STILL PRESENTED A PROBLEM FOR THE US, AND WE WERE GIVING SERIOUS THOUGHT TO THE DILEMMA WHICH SUCH A SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD PRESENT. DAVIES AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF GETTING CONFIDENTIAL

AGREEMENT ON A NATO CANDIDATE WAS AN URGENT ONE. HE SAID THE US HAD HOPED THAT ALLIANCE OPINION WOULD COALESCE AROUND A SINGLE CANDIDATE. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH BELGIUM SEEMED TO ENJOY BROADER SUPPORT THAN ANY OF THE OTHER NATO CANDIDATES (DENMARK, NORWAY, TURKEY AND GREECE), THIS HAD NOT YET OCCURRED. DENMARK AND NORWAY CONTINUED TO PURSUE THEIR CANDIDACIES ACTIVELY.

4. REVIEWING SITUATION WITHIN NATO, MALLABY NOTED THAT BELGIUM WAS SUPPORTED BY THE NETHERLANDS AND, INFORM-ALLY, BY FRANCE. HE SAID THE FRG AND ITALY ALSO SEEMED TO BE LEANING IN THAT DIRECTION, BOTH APPARENTLY OUT OF A DESIRE TO ACCOMMODATE FRANCE. CANADA, HOWEVER, HAD INDICATED TO UK ITS PREFERENCE FOR NORWAY. (SEPTEL REPORTS SIMILAR CANADIAN APPROACH TO US.)

5. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, THREE POSSIBLE WAYS OF PRE-CIPITATING A NATO CONSENSUS WERE DISCUSSED:

A) NOTING PROVISION FOR PERIODIC REVIEW OF CD MEM-BERSHIP AGREED TO AT SSOD, MALLABY SAID DANES HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ALTERNATE MEMBERSHIP WITH

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NORWAY (PERHAPS AT THREE-YEAR INTERVALS, WITH DENMARK SITTING FIRST); MALLABY SUGGESTED THAT SIMILAR ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM, ALTHOUGH THE NETHERLANDS CLEARLY SEEMED TO WANT BELGIUM AS A PERMANENT MEMBER IN ORDER TO AVOID THIS POSSIBILITY. MALLABY AND DAVIES AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT ROTATION WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE, SINCE IT WOULD

NOT PROVIDE THE CONTINUITY OR EXPERTISE WHICH CD SHOULD HAVE AND WOULD CREATE A FORM OF "SECOND-CLASS" MEMBERSHIP.

B) MALLABY SAID IDEA HAD JUST BEEN SUGGESTED TO HIM IN WASHINGTON (WHETHER BY UK EMBASSY OR INFORMALLY
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BY SOMEONE IN USG WAS NOT CLEAR) THAT NATO SECGEN LUNS MIGHT BE ASKED TO CANVASS NATO MEMBERS ABOUT THEIR PREFERENCES AND SEEK TO ENGINEER AGREEMENT ON NATO CANDIDATE.

C) POSSIBILITY WAS ALSO DISCUSSED OF A MAJOR NATO MEMBER TAKING THE LEAD IN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT A CONSENSUS. MALLABY SAID UK WS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE ON THE ROLE ALONE BUT MIGHT AS PART OF A GROUP. DISCUSSING POSSIBILITY OF A US INITIATIVE, MALLABY SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT IF THE US WERE TO APPROACH THE UK, THE FRG, FRANCE, ITALY, THE NETHERLANDS AND CANADA, POINTING OUT THAT BELGIUM SEEMED TO HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF COMMANDING ALLIANCE SUPPORT AND THAT EARLY DECISIOW WAS NEEDED, AGREEMENT ON BELGIUM COULD BE QUICKLY ACHIEVED. THE FINAL STEP IN THE SCENARIO WOULD BE TO PERSUADE THE OTHER CANDIDATES TO WITHDRAW AND TO JOIN IN THE CONSENSUS. DAVIES SAID THE US HAD TAKEN NO DECISION YET ABOUT HOW THE NATO PROBLEM SHOULD BE HANDLED; HOWEVER, IN A SCENARIO OF THE SORT SUGGESTED BY MALLABY IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE BETTER FOR APPROACH TO THE UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES TO BE MADE ON A COLLEGIAL BASIS. MALLABY AGREED AND SAID THAT AT THAT POINT JOINT DEMARCHES BY, SAY, THE US, THE UK, THE FRG AND ALSO FRANCE, IF IT WISHED, WOULD BE PREFERABLE; HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ANY ACTIVE US ROLE WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY MANAGED IN VIEW OF FRENCH SENSITIVITIES. AT THE SAME TIME, FRANCE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE HAPPY TO SEE THE US TAKE THE LEAD IN PROMOTING THE EMERGENCE OF A CONSENSUS ON BELGIUM AS THE NATO CHOICE AND WOULD WELCOME HAVING THE MATTER SETTLED IN TIME TO ASSURE NATO A PLACE AMONG THE ADDITIONAL CD MEMBERS.

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6. DAVIES AND MALLABY AGREED US AND UK SHOULD GIVE FURTHER THOUGHT TO QUESTION OF HOW TO ACHIEVE NATO AGREEMENT ON A CD CANDIDATE AND CONSULT AGAIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. CHRISTOPHER

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